

EXHIBIT B.21

Matthew Levitt, Ph.D.

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Experience:

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| <p>The Washington Institute for Near East Policy
 <i>Senior Fellow and Director of the Stein Program on Counterterrorism and Intelligence</i>
 • Write, lecture and consult on terrorism, intelligence, the Middle East and U.S. policy</p> <p>Combating Terrorism Center, U.S. Military Academy at West Point
 <i>Instructor, External Education Program</i>
 • Teach a variety of counterterrorism courses for CTC's external education program</p> <p>Johns Hopkins University, Paul H. Nitze School of Advanced International Studies (SAIS)
 <i>Professorial Lecturer in International Relations – Strategic Studies</i>
 • Teach graduate course entitled “Combating the Funding of Transnational Threats”
 • Teach graduate course entitled “Terrorism: Concepts and Problems”</p> <p>U.S. Department of State, Special Envoy for Middle East Regional Security
 <i>Counterterrorism Advisor (part time, Temporary Government Employee)</i>
 • Advise Special Envoy General (ret) James Jones and staff on counterterrorism and intelligence issues
 • Contribute to team's assessment of Palestinian/Israeli security sector and help draft final report</p> <p>U.S. Department of the Treasury
 <i>Deputy Assistant Secretary for Intelligence and Analysis</i>
 • Senior Executive Service (SES) manager within Terrorism and Financial Intelligence branch
 • Deputy Chief of the Office of Intelligence and Analysis, one of the 16 US intelligence agencies</p> <p>The Washington Institute for Near East Policy
 <i>Senior Fellow and Director of Terrorism Studies</i>
 • Direct Terrorism Studies Program; write, lecture and consult on terrorism, the Middle East and U.S. policy</p> <p>Johns Hopkins University, Zanvyl Krieger School of Arts and Sciences
 <i>Lecturer</i>
 • Taught graduate course on “Contemporary Terrorism and the American Response”</p> <p>Federal Bureau of Investigation, International Terrorism Intelligence Unit
 <i>Intelligence Research Specialist</i>
 • Provided tactical and strategic analysis in support of FBI counterterrorism operations</p> <p>The Washington Institute for Near East Policy
 <i>Soref Fellow</i>
 • Analyst focused on the Middle East peace process, terrorism and Palestinian politics and society</p> <p>The Program on Negotiation at Harvard Law School
 <i>Graduate Research Fellow</i>
 • Doctoral fellowship to pursue field research in the Middle East and commence writing of doctoral thesis</p> | <p>Washington, DC
2007- Present</p> <p>May 2008 – Present</p> <p>Washington, DC
2007 - 2012
2004 – 2005</p> <p>Washington, DC
Feb 2008 – April 2009</p> <p>Washington, DC
2005- 2007</p> <p>Washington, DC
2001- 2005</p> <p>Washington, DC
Summer 2005</p> <p>Washington, DC
1998 - 2001</p> <p>Washington, DC
1998</p> <p>Cambridge, MA
1997-1998</p> |
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Additional Affiliations:

- Senior Fellow, Homeland Security Policy Institute, The George Washington University (2009-2011)
- Member, The Council on Foreign Relations (2011-present)
- Term Member, The Council on Foreign Relations (2005-2010)

- Associate Fellow, Combating Terrorism Center (CTC) at U.S. Military Academy at West Point (2007-2012)
- Member, Association for the Study of the Middle East and Africa (ASMEA)
- Advisory Board Member, Institute for Counter-terrorism (ICT), Israel
- Advisory Board Member, ICT Working Paper Series, Institute for Counter-terrorism (ICT), Israel
- Advisory Board Member, International Centre for Political Violence & Terrorism Research (ICPVTR), Singapore
- Member, Middle East Strategy at Harvard (MESH), John M. Olin Institute for Strategic Studies at Harvard University
- Member, Working Group on “Containing a Nuclear Iran,” Saban Center at the Brookings Institution (2010-2011)
- Member, Counterterrorism and Intelligence Task Force, Homeland Security Policy Institute, The George Washington University (2011)
- Member, Advisory Committee for production of the Council on Foreign Relations Special Report “Yemen: Meeting the Challenge” (2011)
- Member, Crisis in Middle East Task Force, Saban Center at the Brookings Institution (2008)
- Member, Council on Foreign Relations Task Force on Terrorist Financing (2005)

Education:

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| Tufts University, The Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy | Medford, MA |
| • Ph.D. in International Relations (Terrorism and Conflict Resolution) | May 2005 |
| ~ Passed Ph.D. Oral Exam with Distinction | |
| • Master of Arts in Law and Diplomacy (M.A.L.D.) | May 1995 |
| ~ Concentrations: Negotiation and Conflict Resolution, International Security Studies, the Middle East | |
| Yeshiva University | New York, NY |
| • BA <i>cum laude</i> in Political Science | June 1992 |

Selected Honors/Awards:

- U.S. Marine Corps Forces Cyber Command, Letter of Appreciation, April 3, 2013
- U.S. Department of Justice, Federal Bureau of Investigation, Certificate of Appreciation, March 22, 2103
- U.S. Department of State “Counter-Terrorism Policy” Speaker Grant (lectures in Germany), January 2010
- Ministry of Interior, Kingdom of Bahrain, Award Certificate, February 25, 2009
- *Hamas: Politics, Charity and Terrorism in the Service of Jihad* selected as a 2007 Top Seller in Politics and Law as compiled by YBP Library Service
- *Hamas: Politics, Charity and Terrorism in the Service of Jihad* selected as a 2007 AAUP University Press Book for Public and Secondary School Libraries
- Exceptional Service Award, U.S. Department of the Treasury, January 2007
- Certificate of Appreciation, United States Central Command Directorate of Intelligence, February 2006
- Selected by CNN as one of “The 2005 New Guard: Washington’s Next Generation of Newsmakers,” April 2005
- European Union Visitors Program (EUVP) 2005
- Certificate of Commendation, U.S. Attorney Office, District of Idaho, Department of Justice, December 2004
- Visiting Scholar, The Paul H. Nitze School of Advanced International Studies (SAIS), Johns Hopkins University, March 2003
- U.S. Department of State Speaker and Specialist Grant (lectures in Austria), January 2003
- U.S. Department of State Speaker and Specialist Grant (lectures in Lithuania), April 2002
- Outstanding Service award, International Terrorism Analysis Unit, Federal Bureau of Investigation, November 2001
- Letter of Commendation from Deputy Assistant Director (3), Federal Bureau of Investigation, July 2000, August 2000, July 2001
- Time Off Award (2), Federal Bureau of Investigation, April 2000, April 2001
- Performance Awards (2), Federal Bureau of Investigation, December 1999, November 2000

- Special Act or Service Award, Federal Bureau of Investigation, September 1999
- Graduate Research Fellow, The Program On Negotiation at Harvard Law School, 1997-1998
- International Security Studies Fellow, International Security Studies Ph.D. Dissertation Fellowship, The Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy, 1996-1997
- International Security Studies Program Graduate Student Research Grant on the Emerging Issues of Ethnic, Sectarian, and Religious Conflict, William H. Donner Foundation, 1996
- Doctoral Scholarship, The Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy, 1995-1996
- Sarah Scaife Frank Rockwell Barnett Memorial Grant in International Security Studies, The Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy, 1994 and 1996

Court Testimony:

- Qualified as an expert witness and provided expert testimony in several U.S. federal court proceedings, including US v. Mohamed Yousef Hammoud, et al (Western District of North Carolina, June 2002); US v. Fowad Assed (Eastern District of New York, March 2003); US v. Fawaz Damrah (Northern District of Ohio, June 2004); US v Mohammed Ali Hassan Al Moayad (Eastern District of New York, February 2005); US v Sami Amin Al Arian et al (Middle District of Florida, 2005); US v Mousa Abu Marzook et al (Northern District of Illinois, Eastern Division, November 2006); US v Holy Land Foundation for Relief and Development et al (Northern District of Texas, Dallas Division, July 2007); US v Muhamed Mubayyid et al (District of Massachusetts, December 2007); US v Holy Land Foundation for Relief and Development et al (Northern District of Texas, Dallas Division, September 2008 retrial); Soussi v. Napolitano et al (Eastern District of California, August 2009); US v Mahmoud Reza Banki (Southern District of New York, May 2010); US v Defreitas et al (Eastern District of New York, July 2010); US v Vaghari (Eastern District of Pennsylvania, February 2011); Atalla v. USCIS et al (District of Arizona, April 2011); US v Ibrahim (Eastern District of New York, May 2011)
- Testified as expert witness in foreign terrorism cases: Denmark v Al Aqsa Foundation et al (Copenhagen City Court, Courts of Law of the Kingdom of Denmark, December 2007); CBSP v. S. Samuels (Court of Appeals, Paris, France, 2008); Denmark v “Fighters + Lovers,” (Copenhagen City Court, Courts of Law of the Kingdom of Denmark, September 2008); HMA v Nasserddine Menni (Scottish High Court of Judiciary, Glasgow, June 12, 2012)
- Served as expert witness in several terrorism-related Immigration Court proceedings in the United States and Canada.
- Served as expert witness in several U.S. civil terrorism cases, including Stanley Boim et al v. Quranic Literacy Institute et al (Northern District of Illinois, Eastern Division, December 2004); Gates v. Syria (United States District Court for the District of Columbia, January 2008); Amduso v Sudan (United States District Court for the District of Columbia, October 2010); Wultz et al v Islamic Republic of Iran et al (United States District Court for the District of Columbia, February 2012); Wyatt v Syria (United States District Court for the District of Columbia, August 2012).
- Provided expert reports in criminal and civil terrorism cases, in U.S. and foreign jurisdictions, related to terrorism, weapons proliferation, and Iran sanctions violation cases.

Publications:

Books:

- *Hezbollah: The Global Footprint of Lebanon's 'Party of God'* (Georgetown University Press, forthcoming 2013)
- *Negotiating under Fire: Preserving Peace Talks in the Face of Terror Attacks* (Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield, 2008)
- *Hamas: Politics, Charity and Terrorism in the Service of Jihad*, (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2006)

~ Available in Spanish as *Hamas: Politica, Beneficencia Y Terrorismo Al Servicio De La Yihad* (Barcelona: Belacqva, 2007)

~ Available in Polish as *Hamas: Polityka, dobroczynność i terroryzm w służbie džihadu* (Krakow: Jagiellonian University Press, 2008)

- *The Impact of Acute Security Crises on the Process of Ongoing Negotiations: Lessons from the Palestinian-Israeli Peace Process, 1993-1996* (Ph.D. dissertation, The Fletcher School of Law & Diplomacy at Tufts University, 2005)
- *Targeting Terror: US Policy toward Middle Eastern Terrorist Groups and State Sponsors in the War on Terror* (Washington, DC: The Washington Institute for Near East Policy, 2002)

Monographs:

- *Hizballah and the Qods Force in Iran's Shadow War with the West*, Policy Focus 123 (Washington, D.C.: The Washington Institute for Near East Policy, January 2013)
- *Finding a Balance: U.S. Security Interests and the Arab Awakening*, editor, (Washington, D.C.: The Washington Institute for Near East Policy, May 2012)
- *Obama's National Security Vision: Confronting Transnational Threats with Global Cooperation*, editor (Washington, DC: The Washington Institute for Near East Policy, October 2010)
- *Fighting the Ideological Battle: The Missing Link in U.S. Strategy to Counter Violent Extremism*, co-author with J. Scott Carpenter, Steven Simon and Juan Zarate (Washington, DC: The Washington Institute for Near East Policy, July 2010)
- *Continuity and Change: Reshaping the Fight against Terrorism*, co-edited with Michael Jacobson (Washington, DC: The Washington Institute for Near East Policy, April 2010)
- *Deterred but Determined: Salafi-Jihadi Groups in the Palestinian Arena*, co-authored with Yoram Cohen and Becca Wasser, (Washington, DC: The Washington Institute for Near East Policy, January 2010)
- *Combating the Financing of Transnational Threats*, co-authored with Michael Jacobson, Emirates Lecture Series #76 (Abu Dhabi: The Emirates Center for Strategic Studies and Research, 2009)
- *Rewriting the Narrative: An Integrated Strategy for Counterradicalization. Report of the Task Force on Confronting the Ideology of Radical Extremism*, co-convenor and co-author with Michael Jacobson and J. Scott Carpenter (Washington, DC: The Washington Institute for Near East Policy, March 2009)
- *Countering Transnational Threats: Terrorism, Narco-Trafficking, and WMD Proliferation*, co-edited with Michael Jacobson (Washington, DC: The Washington Institute for Near East Policy, February 2009)
- *The Money Trail: Finding, Following and Freezing Terrorist Finances*, co-authored with Michael Jacobson (Washington, DC: The Washington Institute for Near East Policy, October 2008)
- *Terrorist Threat and U.S. Response: A Changing Landscape*, co-edited with Michael Jacobson (Washington, DC: The Washington Institute for Near East Policy, September 2008)

Chapters:

- “Stemming the Flow of Terrorist Financing: Practical and Conceptual Challenges,” in Naveen Beekarry, Ed., *Combating Money Laundering and Terrorism Finance: Past and Current Challenges* (Edward Elger Publishing, 2013)
- “Hizballah’s Canadian Procurement Network,” in *Terror in the Peaceable Kingdom: Understanding and Addressing Violent Extremism in Canada*, Daveed Gartenstein-Ross and Senator Linda Frum, Editors (Washington, DC: FDD Press, 2012)
- “Hezbollah,” in Ilan Berman, Chief Editor, *World Almanac of Islamism 2011* (Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield, 2011)
- “Financial Sanctions,” in Robin Wright, Editor, *The Iran Primer: Power, Politics, and U.S. Policy* (Washington, DC: U.S. Institute of Peace Press, 2010)
- “The Evolving Threat of International Terrorism and Government Response,” in Boaz Ganor and Eitan Azani, Eds., *The Global Impact of Terrorism 2008* (The International Institute for Counter-Terrorism, 2010)
- “Threat Finance and Counterradicalization,” in Ronald R. Luman, Editor, *2009 Unrestricted Warfare Symposium: Proceedings on Integrating Action for Attacks Involving: Terrorism, Resources, Economics and Cyberspace* (Laurel, Maryland: The Johns Hopkins University Applied Physics Laboratory, 2009)
- “Disrupting Adversary Networks,” in Ronald R. Luman, Editor, *2008 Unrestricted Warfare Symposium: Proceedings on Integrating Strategy, Analysis, and Technology in Support of the U.S. War on Terrorism Campaign* (Laurel, Maryland: The Johns Hopkins University Applied Physics Laboratory, 2008)
- “Investigacion Y Persecution: Entrevista a Matthew Levitt,” in *La Lucha Contra el Terrorismo y Sus Limites* (Madrid, Spain: Adhara Publicaciones, 2006)
- “Hizballah Finances: Funding the Party of God,” in *Terrorism Financing and State Responses in Comparative Perspective* (Stanford CA: Stanford University Press, 2006), available online at <http://www.washingtoninstitute.org/templateC06.php?CID=772>
- “ Hamas Social Welfare: In the Service of Terror,” in James JF Forest, editor, *The Making of a Terrorist: Recruitment, Training, and Root Causes* (New York: Praeger Publishers, 2005)
- “Hizballah’s Global Reach,” in Boaz Ganor, Editor, *Post Modern Terrorism: Trends, Scenarios and Future Threats* (Herzliya, Israel: The International Policy Institute for Counter-Terrorism, Herliya Project Publishing House, Ltd., 2005)
- “Iran and Syria: State Sponsorship in the Age of Terror Networks,” in *Confronting Terrorism Financing* (Lanham, MD: University Press of America - American Foreign Policy Council, 2004)
- Several contributions to Peacewatch/Policywatch Anthology 2003: A Year of Victory and Challenge (Washington, DC: The Washington Institute for Near East Policy, 2004)
- “International Military Intervention and the Impact of Terrorism,” in Robert B. Satloff, Ed., *International Military Intervention: A Detour on the Road to Israeli-Palestinian Peace* (Washington D.C.: The Washington Institute for Near East Policy, 2003)
- *Winning the Peace in the Middle East: A Bipartisan Blueprint for Postwar U.S. Policy*, coauthored with Patrick Clawson and David Makovsky and edited by Dennis Ross and Robert Satloff (Washington, DC: The Washington

Institute for Near East Policy, 2003)

- Several contributions to Peacewatch/Policywatch Anthology 2002: America and the Middle East – Expanding Threat, Broadening Response (Washington, DC: The Washington Institute for Near East Policy, 2003)
- "Iranian State Sponsorship of Terrorism," *The Encyclopedia of World Terrorism, 1996-2002*, (Armonk, NY: Sharpe Reference, 2002), 379-382
- Several contributions to Peacewatch/Policywatch Anthology 2001: A Year of Terror (Washington, DC: The Washington Institute for Near East Policy, 2002), p. 174, 186, 423
- Several contributions to Peacewatch/Policywatch Anthology 1998: Inching Toward Peace, Inching Toward War (Washington, DC: The Washington Institute for Near East Policy, 1999), p. 78, 112

Testimony/Lectures:

- "Understanding the Hezbollah and Iranian Attack Strategy: Plots from Bulgaria to Washington, DC," The Washington Institute for Near East Policy, New York City, April 30, 2013
- "Hezbollah: The Global Footprint of Lebanon's Party of God," U.S. Military Academy at West Point, West Point, NY, April 29, 2013
- "Hezbollah: The Global Footprint of Lebanon's Party of God," Alexander Hamilton Center for Political Economy, New York University, New York City, April 25, 2013
- "Hezbollah: The Global Footprint of Lebanon's Party of God," Terrorist Screening Center, Virginia, April 24, 2013
- "Hezbollah and the Qods Force in Iran's Shadow War with the West," University of Maryland Hillel, April 20, 2013
- "Implications of Recent Developments in the Middle East," Lecture for J.P. Morgan Investor Seminar, Washington DC, April 19, 2013
- "Contending with Hezbollah Financing," panelist, Center for a New American Security (CNAS), Washington DC, April 17, 2013
- "Combating Terrorism: Protecting our Communities," panelist, conference on "European Union and United States Law Enforcement Co-operation Making it Safer for Citizens: A global Approach," An EU Rendez-Vous Event, Organized by the Delegation of the European Union to the United States and Europol, Washington, DC, April 16, 2013
- "Hezbollah: The Global Footprint of Lebanon's Party of God," Terrorism, Transnational Crime, and Corruption Center (TraCCC), George Mason University, April 12, 2013
- "Hezbollah: The Global Footprint of Lebanon's Party of God," 4/5th Special Forces Group (Airborne), Fort Campbell, Kentucky, April 10, 2013
- "Hezbollah and the Qods Force in Iran's Shadow War with the West," US Marine Corps Forces Cyber Command, Fort Meade, Maryland, April 5, 2013

- “Hezbollah: The Global Footprint of Lebanon’s Party of God,” Inter-University Center for Terrorism Studies, Potomac Institute, Arlington, VA, April 4, 2013
- “What Europe Should Do About Hezbollah,” American Council on Germany and American Friends of Bucerius, New York City, April 3, 2013
- “Hezbollah: The Global Footprint of Lebanon’s Party of God,” DI Speaker Series, Directorate of Intelligence and Senior Intelligence Officer Council, Federal Bureau of Investigation, Washington DC, March 22, 2013
- “Hezbollah’s Strategic Shift: A Global Terrorist Threat,” Testimony before the House Foreign Affairs subcommittee on Terrorism, Proliferation and Trade, March 20, 2013
- “Hezbollah—A Threat for Europe?” The American Academy in Berlin Hans Arnold Center, Germany, March 18, 2013
- “Iran’s Nuclear Program: News Paths out of the Deadlock?” Expert Discussion co-sponsored by AJC Berlin and the Heinrich Boll Stiftung, Berlin, Germany, March 18, 2013
- “Hezbollah—A Threat for Europe?” AJC Transatlantic Roundtable, JAC Berlin Ramer Institute, Germany, March 18, 2013
- “Europe’s Hezbollah Problem,” American University of Rome, Italy, March 13, 2013
- “Closing the Ranks on Iran: The United States, Israel, and Europe,” panel at a conference on “Iran’s Nuclear Program: New Paths out of the Deadlock?” Heinrich Boll Stiftung and American Jewish Committee, Berlin, Germany, March 18, 2013
- “Hezbollah and the Qods Force in Iran’s Shadow War with the West,” La Societa Italiana per l’Organizzazione Internazionale, in collaboration with the American Jewish Committee, Rome, Italy, March 13, 2013
- “Terror from Tehran: Iran as a Global Threat,” forum lecture, AIPAC Policy Conference, Washington, DC, March 3, 2012
- “Inside Hezbollah: A Close Look at a Top Terrorist Organization,” Scholar-in-Residence lecture, AIPAC Policy Conference, Washington, DC, March 3, 2012
- “Europe’s Hezbollah Dilemma: What’s Next?” Foundation for Defense of Democracies, Congressional Meeting Room South, Capitol Hill, March 1, 2013
- “Hezbollah and the Qods Force in Iran’s Shadow War with the West,” George Washington University’s Homeland Security Policy Institute, February 14, 2013
- “Europe’s Hezbollah Problem,” The Washington Institute for Near East Policy, February 8, 2013
- “The Fatah-Hamas Reconciliation: Threatening Peace Prospects,” Testimony before the US House of Representatives, Committee on Foreign Relations, Subcommittee on the Middle East and South Asia, February 5, 2013
- “Hezbollah and the Qods Force in Iran’s Shadow War with the West,” Maryland State Antiterrorism Advisory Council (ATAC), Howard County, Maryland, January 30, 2013

- “Hezbollah and Iran,” Lectures for the FBI Fly Team, Northern Virginia, January 11, 2013
- “From Beirut to the Blue Ridge: Hezbollah’s Reach into North America,” Anti-Defamation League Advanced Training School, Extremist and Terrorist Threats Course, Washington DC, December 3, 2012
- “Hezbollah in Southeast Asia,” Asymmetric Operations Working Group, Hybrid Threat Networks in the Asia Pacific Rim, Honolulu, HI, November 28, 2012
- “Hezbollah: The Global Footprint of Lebanon’s Party of God,” Bureau of Intelligence and Research, U.S. Department of State, Washington, DC, November 19, 2012
- “Is Hezbollah a Threat to the U.S. and Canada?” Lecture at a workshop on “Understanding Hezbollah’s Impact on the Security of Canada and the United States,” held jointly by Canadian Security Intelligence Service and Public Safety Canada, Ottawa, Canada, November 13, 2012
- “Hezbollah, the Qods Force, and Iran’s Shadow War Against the West,” UK House of Commons, Henry Jackson Society, London, UK, November 7, 2012
- “Why Hezbollah is Europe’s Problem Too,” A Berlin Middle East Talk by Scholars for Peace in the Middle East and the Mideast Freedom Forum Berlin, Berlin, Germany, November 6, 2012
- “Why Hezbollah in Europe’s Problem Too,” Concordia Press Club, Stop The Bomb, Vienna, Austria, November 5, 2012
- “Crime without Punishment? Stopping Hezbollah’s Terrorist and Criminal Activities, Friedrich-Naumann-Stiftung für die Freiheit and Transatlantic Institute, Belgium, Brussels, October 24, 2012
- “Hezbollah, Qods Force, and the Shadow War against the West,” U.S. Special Operations Command, Tampa, FL, October 11, 2012
- “AQ finance,” conference entitled, *Financial Intelligence (FININT) Support to Counterintelligence*, The US Army 902d Military Intelligence (MI) Group (Gp), Ft. Meade, MD, September 19, 2012
- “Hezbollah in the Hot Seat: Fallout from the Syrian Insurgency and Criminal Investigations,” Workshop on Lebanon and Syria, 12th Annual Global Counterterrorism Conference, Institute for Counter-Terrorism, Herzliya, Israel, September 12, 2012
- “The Changing Political Topography of Shia Militancy in the Gulf and Beyond,” Workshop on Sunni-Shia Tensions in Iraq and the Gulf, 12th Annual Global Counterterrorism Conference, Institute for Counter-Terrorism, Herzliya, Israel, September 12, 2012
- “Is al-Qaeda Central Still Relevant?” Moderator and panelist, Washington Institute Policy Forum, September 4, 2012, Washington DC
- “Hezbollah and Iran,” Lecture for FBI Counterterrorism Investigation and Operations (CTIOPS) course, Manassas, VA., August 15, 2012

- “Israeli-Palestinian Conflict,” Lecture for FBI Counterterrorism Investigation and Operations (CTIOPS) course, Manassas, VA., August 15, 2012
- “Hezbollah’s Global Footprint,” Lecture for Department of the Treasury, Treasury Executive Institute, Washington DC, June 28, 2012
- “Combating Terror Financing,” Lecture for Scottish Police and UK Security Service, Glasgow, Scotland, June 12, 2012
- “The Middle East in the Arab Awakening,” Lecture for J.P. Morgan Investor Conference, Washington DC, April 20, 2012
- “Hezbollah’s Global Footprint,” Lecture for Tennessee State Office of Homeland Security, Nashville, TN, April 9, 2012
- “Party of Fraud: Hizballah’s Criminal Enterprises,” Policy Forum panelist, The Washington Institute for Near East Policy, Washington DC, March 20, 2012
- “Iran, Hizballah and the Threat to the Homeland,” Testimony before the House Committee on Homeland Security, Washington DC, March 21, 2012
- “Combating the Financing of Transnational Threats,” Week long course taught for the Counter-Terrorism Studies Program, Executive Certificate Program at the Interdisciplinary Center (IDC), Herzliya, Israel, February 14-17, 2012
- “Iranian Terror Co-Chair of Roundtable Expert Meeting on “Rehabilitation and Reintegration of Violent Extremist Offender: Good Practices & Lessons Learned,” co-sponsored by the International Centre for Counter-Terrorism – The Hague (ICCT) and the UN Interregional Crime and Justice Research Institute (UNICRI), The Hague, December 6-7, 2011
- “Iranian Terror Operations on American Soil,” Testimony before a joint hearing of the House Homeland Security Subcommittee on Counterterrorism and Intelligence and Subcommittee on Oversight, Investigations, and Management, Washington DC, October 26, 2011
- “September Reflections: Where We Stand Countering Terrorism and Pursuing Peace,” New York University SHARP Lecture Series, New York City, September 20, 2011
- “Countering Terror Finance a Decade after 9/11,” Workshop presentation at the 11th Annual Global Counterterrorism Conference, Institute for Counter-Terrorism, Herzliya, Israel, September 13, 2001
- “ Hamas and Hezbollah as Hybrid Terrorist Organizations,” Workshop presentation at the 11th Annual Global Counterterrorism Conference, Institute for Counter-Terrorism, Herzliya, Israel, September 13, 2001
- “Missing the Forest for the Trees: A Call for Strategic Counterterrorism Ten Years after 9/11,” Plenary Keynote Lecture at the 11th Annual Global Counterterrorism Conference, Institute for Counter-Terrorism, Herzliya, Israel, September 12, 2001

- " Hamas Financing," Mid-Atlantic Regional Intelligence Group (MARIG), Federal Bureau of Investigation, Washington, DC, August 3, 2001
- "Terrorism in and from the Middle East," Security Policy Course on the Middle East, Royal Danish Defence College, Denmark, June 22, 2011
- "Leveraging Financial Intelligence to Combat Transnational Threats," Program on Terrorism and Security Studies, George C. Marshall European Center for Security Studies, Garmisch, Germany, July 13, 2011
- "Drivers of Homegrown Terrorism," panelist, at "Leading Thinkers" conference on "Terrorism in Canada: Threats, Vulnerabilities, and Strategies," Foundation for Defense of Democracies, Ottawa, Canada, June 12-13, 2011
- "Upstream Prevention and Downstream Disengagement, Rehabilitation and Reintegration," United Nations Interregional Crime and Justice Research Institute (UNICRI), Center on Policies to Counter the Appeal of Terrorism, Chairman of three afternoon panels on upstream prevention, Lucca, Italy, May 24-26, 2001
- "Combating Terror Financing," Comprehensive Security Response to Terrorism Course, Asia-Pacific Center for Security Studies (APCSS), Honolulu, Hawaii, March 16, 2011
- "Responding to Radicalization and Violent Extremism," panel moderator, "At the Crossroads of Violent Extremism and Foreign Directed Domestic Threats: Homeland Implications," conference cosponsored by the Department of Homeland Security, Federal Bureau of Investigation and hosted by the Office of the Director of National Intelligence, Washington, DC, February 17, 2001
- "Combating Violent Extremism: The Counterradicalization Debate in 2011," panel participant, The Washington Institute for Near East Policy, January 5, 2011
- "The Unifying Narrative in Domestic Radicalization," Panel chair at Colloquium on "Countering the Narrative: The Role of Ideology in the Radicalization Process," The Washington Institute for Near East Policy, Washington, DC, November 19, 2010
- Roundtable discussion on Counterterrorism, Lowy Institute, Sydney, Australia, November 9, 2010
- "Challenges and Opportunities in Financial Intelligence," Australian Transaction Reports and Analysis Center (AUSTRAC), Intelligence Branch, Sydney, Australia, November 8, 2010
- Roundtable discussion on Counterterrorism, Menzies Research Center, Sydney, Australia, November 8, 2010
- "International Terrorism Today: What we Need to Know," Australian Institute of International Affairs (AIIA), Melbourne, Australia, November 4, 2010
- Roundtable discussion on Counterterrorism and Counterproliferation at Office of National Assessments, Canberra, Australia, November 2, 2010
- "Combating Terror Finance," lecture at the Australian Federal Police (AFP) Advanced Counter Terrorism Investigations Program, Canberra, Australia, November 2, 2010

- “Glocalization of the Global Jihad,” panel chair at Counterterrorism Colloquium on “Unconventional Warfare: Lessons for U.S. and Israeli Policy,” The Washington Institute for Near East Policy, Washington, DC, October 29, 2010
- “What Policymakers can Learn from Palestinian Social Media,” Discussant, Foundation for Defense of Democracies, Washington DC, October 19, 2010
- “Terrorism Networks” breakout panel at by-invitation-only conference on “Cutting the Fuse: Moving Beyond the War on Terror,” New America Foundation and The University of Chicago, Washington DC, October 13, 2010
- “Combating Terror Financing,” Comprehensive Security Response to Terrorism Course 10-1, Asia-Pacific Center for Security Studies (APCSS), Honolulu, Hawaii, July 28 2010
- “Disrupting the Flow of Funds to Terrorist Groups and their Supporters: How *The Justice Against Sponsors of Terrorism Act* Could Help,” written testimony submitted to the Senate Committee on the Judiciary, Subcommittee on Crime and Drugs, Hearing entitled “Evaluating The Justice Against Sponsors of Terrorism Act, S. 2930,” July 14, 2010
- “The Changing Face of Jihadi Terror: Lessons from the Near Miss in Times Square,” panel with Juan Zarate and Dan Freedman, Washington Institute Lafer Symposium, New York City, June 14, 2010
- “Hezbollah and Hamas South of the Border: Terrorist Networks in Latin America,” lecture at event on “Terrorists, Drug Traffickers and Gangs in Latin America: Undermining Democracy,” The Hudson Institute, Washington, DC, Jun3 9, 2010
- “Combining Broad and Targeted Sanctions, Informal and Formal Sanctions,” Washington Institute Colloquium “One Year After June 12: The Iranian Nuclear Impasse,” Washington DC, June 3, 2010
- “Combating Terror Finance,” Baltimore Joint Terrorism Task Force, Baltimore, MD, June 1, 2010
- “Anti-Money Laundering: Blocking Terrorist Financing and Its Impact on Lawful Charities,” testimony before the House of Representatives Committee on Financial Services Subcommittee on Oversight and Investigations, May 26, 2010
- “Challenges for U.S. Policy in the War on Terror,” ADL National Leadership Conference, Washington DC, May 3, 2010
- “Rewriting the Narrative: An Integrated Approach for Counterradicalization,” Los Angeles Joint Regional Intelligence Center, Los Angeles, CA, May 11, 2010
- “Combating Terrorist Financing,” Los Angeles Joint Regional Intelligence Center, Los Angeles, CA, May 11, 2010
- “Rewriting the Narrative: An Integrated Approach for Counterradicalization,” National Security Management Course, National Security Studies Program, Maxwell School of Citizenship and Public Affairs, Syracuse University, April 29, 2010

- “Iran’s Economic Health and the Impact of Sanctions,” panelist at Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, Washington, D.C., April 27, 2010
- “A Strategic Approach to Counter-Radicalisation,” Henry Jackson Society and Legatum Institute, London, UK, April 15, 2010
- “Combating Terrorist Financing,” Counterterror Expo 2010,” London, UK, April 15, 2010
- “Contending with Transnational Threats,” Counterterror Expo 2010,” London, UK, April 15, 2010
- “Counter Threat Finance Intelligence: What It Can and Cannot Do for Mission Success in Afghanistan,” lecture at a DOD/USDI-sponsored “Symposium on Counter-Threat Finance Intelligence and Why It Is Critical to Mission Success in Afghanistan,” The Pentagon, Arlington, VA, February 1, 2010
- “The Obama Administration and Counterterrorism: A New Approach?” Parlor meeting lecture and discussion hosted by U.S. Consul General to Dusseldorf, Dusseldorf, Germany, January 27, 2010
- “Combating Terrorist Financing,” Bundeskriminalamt (BKA), Meckenheim, Germany, January 27, 2010
- “The Obama Administration and Counterterrorism: A New Approach?” German Landeskriminalamt (LKA) Nordrhein-Westfalen, Dusseldorf, Germany, January 26, 2010
- “Finding and Following Terrorist Financial Networks - Challenges faced by Financial Intelligence Units,” Financial Transactions and Reports Analysis Centre of Canada (FINTRAC), Ottawa, Canada, January 12, 2010
- “Hizballah Financing and Resourcing,” Financial Transactions and Reports Analysis Centre of Canada (FINTRAC), Ottawa, Canada, January 12, 2010
- “Finding and Following Terrorist Financial Networks - Challenges faced by the Intelligence Community,” Canadian Security Intelligence Service (CSIS), Ottawa, Canada, January 12, 2010
- “Terrorism, Crime and the Narco-Terror Connection,” Canadian Security Intelligence Service (CSIS), Ottawa, Canada, January 12, 2010
- “Al Qaeda in the West Bank and Gaza: One Year After Cast Lead” The Washington Institute for Near East Policy, Washington DC, January 11, 2010
- “Combating the Financing of Transnational Threats,” Seminar organized by Booz Allen Hamilton, December 16, 2009
- “The Threat of Islamist Terrorism: Have We Become Complacent?” The Heritage Foundation, Washington DC, December 14, 2009
- “The Financing of Terrorist Organizations,” American Institute for Contemporary German Studies (AICGS) workshop, Potsdam, Germany, December 7, 2009

- “Can Sanctions Work Against Iran?” Indiana University, Bloomington, Indiana, November 30, 2009
- “Contending with Iran’s Proxies,” University of Maryland, November 18, 2009
- “Multilateral Issues in Combating Terror Finance,” Comments to US-EU Troika meeting, US State Department, Washington DC, November 17, 2009
- “The Muslim Brotherhood,” and “ Hamas,” and “Global Jihadist Movements,” New Agent Training Lectures at FBI Academy, Quantico, VA, November 12, 2009
- “Hizballah,” lecture at conference on “Israel’s Counterterrorism Challenges and Implications for the United States,” Center for Peace and Security Studies, Edmund A. Walsh School of Foreign Service, Georgetown University (co-sponsored by NCTC), Washington DC, September 23, 2009
- “Terrorist Financing: A Look Inside,” panel lecture organized by the ABA Section of International Law International Anti-Money Laundering Committee and the Association of Certified Anti-Money Laundering Specialists, Washington DC, September 23, 2009
- “Contending “FININT 101: Introduction to Financial Intelligence,” Seminar organized by Booz Allen Hamilton, September 21, 2009
- “Contending with Iran’s State Sponsorship of Terrorism in the Context of its Nuclear Program,” World Summit on Counter-Terrorism: Terrorism’s Global Impact, International Institute for Counter-Terrorism (ICT) 9th Annual International Conference, Herzliya, Israel, September 7, 2009
- “Minimizing Potential Threats from Iran: Assessing Economic Sanctions and Other U.S. Policy Options,” Testimony before Senate Committee on Banking, Housing and Urban Affairs, U.S. Senate, July 30, 2009
- “Disrupting Adversary Networks: Combating Terror Finance,” George C Marshal Center, Garmisch, Germany, July 16, 2009
- “Minimizing Potential Threats from Iran: Assessing Economic Sanctions and Other U.S. Policy Options,” Testimony before Senate Committee on Banking, Housing and Urban Affairs, U.S. Senate, July 30, 2009
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- “Foreign Fighters and their Economic Impact: A Case Study of Syria and al Qaeda in Iraq (AQI),” Foreign Policy Research Institute conference, Washington DC, July 14, 2009
- “Rewriting the Narrative: An Integrated Strategy for Counterradicalization,” HSPI Policy and Research Forum, Homeland Security Policy Institute, George Washington University, Washington DC, June 4, 2009
- “Rewriting the Narrative: An Integrated Strategy for Counterradicalization,” Luncheon Briefing at the Transatlantic Institute, Brussels, Belgium, April 2, 2009
- “Rewriting the Narrative: An Integrated Strategy for Counterradicalization,” Danish Institute for International Studies (DIIS), Copenhagen, Denmark, April 1, 2009
- “The Money Trail: Finding, Following and Freezing Terrorism Finances,” with Michael Jacobson, Bi-partisan Anti-Terrorism Caucus Briefing, Cannon House Office Building, March 12, 2009
- “Terror Finance: The Imperative of Interagency Synergy,” testimony before the House Committee on Armed Services Subcommittee on Terrorism and Unconventional Threats and Capabilities, March 11, 2009, available online at <http://www.washingtoninstitute.org/templateC07.php?CID=449>
- “Internationalizing the Financial Flight against Terror Finance,” lecture at the George C. Marshall Center, Garmisch, Germany, March 4, 2009
- “Dealing with Hamas: Future Pathways for Britain,” lecture at the Quilliam Foundation, London, March 3, 2009
- “Fixing Fissures: What Role for the United States in the World – the Case of the Middle East,” lecture for Young Professionals in Foreign Policy (London), co-sponsored by the U.S. Embassy London, March 2, 2009
- “Scaling Back the ‘Long War’? How Obama will Combat Terrorism,” lecture at the International Institute for Strategic Studies, London, March 2, 2009
- “Reforming U.S. Counter-Terrorism Assistance Programs,” Hill briefing sponsored by the Potomac Institute for Policy Studies, Rayburn House Office Building, February 12, 2009
- “The Money Trail: Finding, Following and Freezing Terrorism Finances,” with Michael Jacobson, National Counterterrorism Center Lunch and Learn Distinguished Speakers Series, January 26, 2009
- “What Next in Gaza?” Congressional Staff Briefing for the Democratic Israel Working Group, Rayburn House Office Building, Washington, DC, January 16, 2009
- “Negotiating Under Fire,” Center for Peace and Security Studies, School of Foreign Service, Georgetown University, Washington, DC, January 15, 2009
- “The Money Trail: Finding, Following and Freezing Terrorist Finances,” Woodrow Wilson International Center

for Scholars, Council on Global Terrorism, Washington, DC, January 13, 2009

- “Crime-Terror Nexus: Illicit Networks, Terrorism, Insurgency and WMD Proliferation,” National Defense University’s Near East/South Asia Center, Washington, D.C., December 5, 2008
- “Combating the Ideology of Radical Jihadism,” The Washington Institute for Near East Policy, Los Angeles, November 25, 2008
- “The Money Trail: Finding, Freezing and Following Terrorist Financing,” with Michael Jacobson, The Washington Institute for Near East Policy, November 17, 2008
- “Iran, Hamas and the Palestinians,” panel at conference on ‘Iran, Hezbollah and Hamas: Tehran’s War against the West by Proxy?’ Hudson Institute, Washington, D.C., November 19, 2008
- “Negotiating Under Fire,” The Program on Negotiation at Harvard Law School, Cambridge, MA, November 12, 2008
- “The Money Trail: Finding, Freezing and Following Terrorist Financing,” The International Security Studies Program at Tufts University’s Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy, Medford, MA, November 13, 2008
- “The Utility of Targeted Financial Measures to Deal with Iran,” Brandeis University’s Crown Center for Middle East Studies, Waltham, MA, November 13, 2008
- “The Money Trail: Finding, Freezing and Following Terrorist Financing,” with Michael Jacobson, The Washington Institute for Near East Policy, November 17, 2008
- “Iran, Hamas and the Palestinians,” panel at conference on ‘Iran, Hezbollah and Hamas: Tehran’s War against the West by Proxy?’ Hudson Institute, Washington, D.C., November 19, 2008
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- “Crime-Terror Nexus: Illicit Networks, Terrorism, Insurgency and WMD Proliferation,” National Defense University’s Near East/South Asia Center, Washington, D.C., December 5, 2008
- “Opportunities for the Next Administration: Targeting Terrorist Finances,” Homeland Security Policy Institute at The George Washington University, October 7, 2008
- “The Evolving Threat of International Terrorism and the U.S. Government Response,” Plenary Address at the World Summit on Counter-Terrorism: Terrorism’s Global Impact, The International Institute for Counter-Terrorism, Herzliya, Israel, September 9, 2008
- “The Terrorism-Crime Nexus,” lecture at The Combating Terrorism Center at West Point, U.S. Military Academy, April 24, 2008
- “Iran and the United States: Outlook for the Next Decade?” Rayburn House Office Building, co-sponsored by the Counterterrorism Foundation; the Inter-University Center for Terrorism Studies, the International Center for

Terrorism Studies at the Potomac Institute for Policy Studies, and the Inter-University Center for Legal Studies at the International Law Institute, Washington DC, April 15, 2002

- 2008 Unrestricted Warfare Symposium on *Integrating Strategy, Analysis, and Technology in Support of the U.S. War on Terrorism Campaign*, roundtable on “Disrupting Adversary Networks,” Johns Hopkins University, Applied Physics Laboratory, Laurel, Maryland, March 10-11, 2008
- “Practical and Conceptual Challenges to Counter the Financing of Terrorism,” NYPD Financial Intelligence Workshop, New York, March 6, 2008
- “Targeted Financial Measures to Protect National Security,” Treasury Legal Division annual conference, U.S. Mint, Washington, DC, February 29, 2008
- Panel on “Perspectives on the Long War,” Marine Corps Command and Staff College, Quantico, Virginia, February 26, 2008
- “The “Israel, the Palestinian Territories, and the Peace Process: Domestic, Regional and International Perspectives,” A Workshop Sponsored by the U.S. intelligence community, CENTRA Technology, Inc., Arlington, Virginia, February 6, 2008
- “The Future of Palestinian Terrorism,” A Workshop Sponsored by the U.S. intelligence community, CENTRA Technology, Inc., Arlington, Virginia, January 8-9, 2008
- “National Finance and Global Security: Status Check on the Effort to Combat Terror Financing,” Carnegie Council, New York City, November 29, 2007
- “Combating Terror Financing,” 2nd Annual Anti-Money Laundering & Counter-Terrorist Financing Forum, New York City, November 28, 2007
- “ Hamas: Politics, Charity and Terrorism in the Service of Jihad,” American Council on Germany, New York City, November 27, 2007
- “Combating Terror Financing,” Department of Justice Executive Law Enforcement Summit, Lake Tahoe, California, November 5, 2007
- Moderator, “Homegrown Radicalism in the United States,” The Washington Institute for Near East Policy's annual Weinberg Founder's Conference, October 19-21, 2007, Leesburg, Virginia.
- “Combating the Financing of Transnational Threats,” Anti-Terrorism Caucus, U.S. House of Representatives, Washington, D.C., October 23, 2007
- Moderate session with Under Secretary of the Treasury Stuart Levey on “Iran Sanctions: Where We are and Where We are Going,” Radio Free Europe / Radio Liberty, Washington DC, October 16, 2007
- Chair panel on “Security in the West Bank” at a conference entitled “Whither the Palestinians? Politics and Policy at a Time of Crisis,” The Washington Institute for Near East Policy, July 30, 2007

- “Adding Hezbollah to the EU Terrorism List,” written testimony before the Committee on Foreign Affairs, Subcommittee on Europe, United States House of Representatives, June 20, 2007, available online at <http://www.washingtoninstitute.org/templateC14.php?CID=352>
- Speaker on panel on “The Levant, Maghreb and Sub-Saharan Africa,” International Terrorism and Intelligence 2007 (ITI 2007) Conference, hosted by the University of St. Andrews Centre for the Study of Terrorism and Political, Washington DC, June 13, 2007
- “Understanding the Threat: Contemporary Terrorism and the American Response,” Anti Defamation League (ADL) Advanced Training School, June 11, 2007, Washington, D.C.
- “Terror Financing: New Trends and Developments,” Training Day on Counterterrorism, German Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Berlin, German, June 7, 2007
- “Internationalizing the Financial Fight against Terrorism,” George C. Marshall European Center for Security Studies in Garmisch, Germany, June 6, 2007
- Panelist at session on “Policy Options” at a workshop on “Confronting the Iranian Threat: The Way Forward. What We Know and what to Do.” Foundation for Defense of Democracies, Freeport, Bahamas, May 30 – June 1, 2007
- “Financial Tools to Combat the Evolving Terrorist Threat,” with Michael Jacobson, Soref Symposium, The Washington Institute for Near East Policy, Washington, DC, May 10, 2007
- “State Sponsorship of Terrorism in the Age of Binladenism,” National Security Management Course, Maxwell School of Citizenship and Public Affairs, Syracuse University, May 8, 2007
- “Confronting the Iranian Threat,” Anti-Defamation League Leadership Conference, Washington DC, April 30, 2007
- “Power of the Purse: Combating Terror Finance,” seminar sponsored by Eden Intelligence at the Royal College of Defense Studies, Seaford House, Belford Square, London, England, April 26, 2007
- “ Hamas: Politics, Charity and Jihad,” Chatham House, Middle East Programme Roundtable Meeting, London, England, April 25, 2007, audio of lecture available online at
- “Can Sanctions and Financial Restrictions Avoid a Showdown with Iran?” Transatlantic Institute Roundtable Discussion at the Residence Palace, Brussels, Belgium, April 24, 2007
- “ Hamas: Politics, Charity and Terrorism in the Service of Jihad,” Transatlantic Institute Roundtable Discussion, Brussels, Belgium, April 23, 2007
- “Pulling Tehran's Purse Stings: Leveraging Sanctions and Market Forces to Alter Iranian Behavior,” testimony before the House of Representatives Committee on Foreign Affairs Subcommittee on Terrorism, Nonproliferation and Trade and Subcommittee on the Middle East and Central Asia, March 15, 2007, available online at <http://www.washingtoninstitute.org/templateC07.php?CID=333>
- “Teaching Terror: How Hamas Radicalizes Palestinian Society,” comments for a panel discussion on the topic of

environments that enable terrorism at a conference titled, "The Roots of Terror: Understanding the Evolving Threat of Global Terrorism," sponsored by Women in International Security and the U.S. Army War College, February 12, 2007, available online at <http://www.washingtoninstitute.org/templateC07.php?CID=331>

- "Follow the Money: Challenges and Opportunities in the Campaign to Combat Terrorism Financing," Policy Forum at The Washington Institute for Near East Policy, February 23, 2007, available online at <http://www.washingtoninstitute.org/templateC05.php?CID=2576>
- "Iran's Pretensions and a Turbulent Middle East," lecture at a conference on "US-Iran Relations: Collision, Stand-Off, or Convergence?" sponsored by The New America Foundation and The National Iranian American Council, Washington, DC, February 14, 2007
- "Understanding the Terrorist Threat," Presentation via VTC for the George C. Marshall European Center for Security Studies in Garmisch, Germany, February 6, 2007
- "Advantages and Limits to Evidence-Based Analysis," commentary on a panel on "Future Directions: How Can We Determine Which Analytic Practices Work? Can Analytic Practices Become Evidence-Based?" at a conference sponsored by the Office of the Director of National Intelligence (ODNI) on Improving Intelligence Analysis, Chantilly, Virginia, January 10, 2007
- "Hezbollah Fundraising through Criminal Enterprises," Testimony before the Committee on Governmental Affairs, United States Senate, May 25, 2005, available online at <http://www.washingtoninstitute.org/templateC07.php?CID=238>
- "Islamic Extremism in Europe – Beyond al-Qaeda: Hamas and Hezbollah in Europe," Testimony before the Committee on International Relations, Subcommittee on Europe and Emerging Threats, United States House of Representatives, April 27, 2005, available online at <http://www.washingtoninstitute.org/templateC07.php?CID=234>
- "Iranian State Sponsorship of Terror: Threatening U.S. Security, Global Stability, and Regional Peace," Testimony before the Committee on International Relations, Subcommittee on the Middle East and Central Asia Subcommittee on International Terrorism and Nonproliferation, United States House of Representatives, February 16, 2005, available online at <http://www.washingtoninstitute.org/templateC07.php?CID=228>
- "Charitable Organizations and Terrorist Financing: A War on Terror Status-Check," Paper presented at the workshop "The Dimensions of Terrorist Financing," University of Pittsburgh, March 19, 2004, available online at <http://www.washingtoninstitute.org/templateC07.php?CID=104>
- "Terrorism in West Africa, Post 9/11," A rapporteur's summary of remarks to a workshop on "Oil, Terrorism, and More: The Growing Strategic Significance of West Africa" organized by the CNA Corporation's Center for Strategic Studies, March 1, 2004, available online at <http://www.washingtoninstitute.org/templateC07.php?CID=101>
- "Hezbollah: A Case Study of Global Reach" Remarks to a conference on "Post-Modern Terrorism: Trends, Scenarios, and Future Threats," International Policy Institute for Counter-Terrorism, Herzliya, Israel, September 8, 2003, available online at <http://www.washingtoninstitute.org/templateC07.php?CID=132>
- "Untangling the Terror Web: The Need for a Strategic Understanding of the Crossover Between International Terrorist Groups to Successfully Prosecute the War on Terror," Testimony before the Committee on Banking, Housing, and Urban Affairs, United States Senate, October 22, 2003, available online at

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- Chaired panel discussion on “The Matrix of International Terrorism: The Global Jihadist Threat” at a conference entitled “Between Hope and Challenge: The Bush Administration and the Middle East, 2003,” The Washington Institute for Near East Policy, Lansdowne, Virginia, September 19-21, 2003.
- “Subversion From Within: Saudi Funding of Islamic Extremist Groups Undermining US Interests and the War on Terror from within the United States,” Testimony before the Subcommittee on Terrorism, Technology and Homeland Security, Judiciary Committee, U.S. Senate, September 10, 2003, available online at <http://www.washingtoninstitute.org/templateC07.php?CID=13>
- “Combating Terrorist Financing: Where the War on Terror Intersects the ‘Road Map’,” *Jerusalem Issue Brief* (Jerusalem Center for Public Affairs), August 14, 2003, available online at <http://www.washingtoninstitute.org/templateC06.php?CID=481>
- “Fighting Illegal Transfers Through Alternative Means of Money Transfer,” Remarks to a Conference on “The Economic War on Terrorism: Money Laundering and Terrorist Financing” Garmisch, Germany, George C. Marshall European Center for Security Studies in cooperation with U.S. Department of the Treasury, U.S. Federal Bureau of Investigation, US Department of Justice, July 21-25, 2003, available online at <http://www.washingtoninstitute.org/templateC07.php?CID=11>
- “Developing Global Mechanisms to Combat Terror: Stemming the Flow of Terrorist Financing,” Remarks to a Conference on “Global Terrorism: If This is World War III, How Do We Win?” Sponsored by the Strategic Dialogue Center, Netanya College, Israel, New York City, April 6, 2003, available online at <http://www.washingtoninstitute.org/templateC07.php?CID=134>
- “Culture and the Practice of Deception: Discussant Comments,” Colloquium on Foreign Strategic Denial and Deception, The Cantril Group, May 15, 2003
- “The Causes of the 9/11 Attacks and the Scope of the Threat,” Address to the 19th World Media Conference: “Media’s Role in Peace and Conflict: Covering the Consequences of 9/11,” Plenary Session I, “The Causes of the 9/11 Attacks and the Scope of the Threat” Washington, D.C., September 27, 2002, available online at <http://www.wmassociation.com/reports/spkers/levitt.html>
- “Syrian Sponsorship of Global Terrorism: The Need for Accountability,” Testimony on the Syrian Accountability Act before the Subcommittee on the Middle East and South Asia, Committee on International Relations, United States House of Representatives, September 18, 2002, available online at <http://www.washingtoninstitute.org/templateC07.php?CID=14>
- “Charitable and Humanitarian Organizations in the Network of International Terrorist Financing,” Testimony before the Subcommittee on International Trade and Finance, Committee on Banking, Housing, and Urban Affairs, United States Senate (August 1, 2002), available online at <http://www.washingtoninstitute.org/templateC07.php?CID=138>

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- “Hizbullah Narco-Terrorism: A Growing Cross-Border Threat,” *IHS Defense, Risk and Security Consulting*, September 2012, available online at <http://www.washingtoninstitute.org/policy-analysis/view/hizbullah-narco-terrorism-a-growing-cross-border-threat>

- “The Tragedy in Toulouse: When Kinetic Counterterrorism Tactics Aren’t Enough,” HSPI Commentary 26, The Homeland Security Policy Institute, The George Washington University, March 29, 2012, available online at <http://www.washingtoninstitute.org/templateC06.php?CID=1849>
- “Money Troubles: The Financial Woes of al-Qaeda’s Leaders,” *IHS Jane’s*, January 2012, available online at www.washingtoninstitute.org/templateC06.php?CID=1830
- “It’s the Ideology, Stupid,” *Journal of International Security Affairs*, September 2011, available online at <http://www.washingtoninstitute.org/templateC06.php?CID=1710>
- “Hezbollah: Party of Fraud,” *Foreign Affairs*, July 27, 2011, available online at <http://www.washingtoninstitute.org/templateC06.php?CID=1685>
- “Follow the Money: Leveraging Financial Intelligence to Combat Transnational Threats,” *Georgetown Journal of International Affairs* (Winter/Spring 2011), available online at <http://www.washingtoninstitute.org/templateC06.php?CID=1606>
- “Al Qaeda Targeting Israel: Between Rhetoric and Reality,” *Orbis*, volume 54, number 3 (Summer 2010)
- “Tracking Narco-Terrorist Networks: The Money Trail,” co-authored with Michael Jacobson, *The Fletcher Forum of International Affairs*, vol. 34:1, winter 2010, available online at <http://www.washingtoninstitute.org/templateC06.php?CID=1444>
- “What Europe Can Do to Secure a Deal with Iran,” *Europe’s World* (Spring 2010), available online at <http://www.washingtoninstitute.org/templateC06.php?CID=1425>
- “Syria’s Financial Support for Jihad,” *Middle East Quarterly* (Winter 2010), available online at <http://www.meforum.org/2579/syria-financial-support-jihad>
- “Staying Solvent – Assessing Al-Qaeda’s Financial Portfolio,” co-authored with Michael Jacobson in *Al-Qaeda’s Senior Leadership (AQSL) – a Jane’s Strategic Advisory Services (JSAS) supplement*, IHS Jane’s, November 2009, available online at <http://www.washingtoninstitute.org/templateC06.php?CID=1396>
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- “Foreign Fighters and Their Economic Impact: A Case Study of Syria and al-Qaeda in Iraq,” *Perspectives on Terrorism*, Volume 3, Issue 3, September 2009, available online at <http://www.washingtoninstitute.org/templateC06.php?CID=1363>
- “Confronting the Ideology of Radical Extremism,” co-authored with J. Scott Carpenter and Michael Jacobson, *Journal of National Security Law & Policy*, volume 3:2, Fall 2009, available online at

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- "The Making of a Martyr" (Book Review), *The Journal of International Security Affairs*, Fall 2009, available online at <http://www.washingtoninstitute.org/templateC06.php?CID=1353>
- "Drug Wars: How Obama can Use Narcotics Enforcement to Fight Terrorism," co-authored with Michael Jacobson, *The New Republic*, January 26, 2009 available online at <http://www.washingtoninstitute.org/templateC06.php?CID=1223>
- "The U.S. Campaign to Squeeze Terrorist's Financing," co-authored with Michael Jacobson, *Columbia Journal of International Affairs*, Fall/Winter 2008, available online at <http://www.washingtoninstitute.org/templateC06.php?CID=1196>
- "Al Qa'ida's Finances: Evidence of Organizational Decline?" *CTC Sentinel*, April 2008, available online at <http://www.washingtoninstitute.org/templateC06.php?CID=1150>
- "Could Hamas Target the West?" *Studies in Conflict & Terrorism*, vol. 30, no. 11, 2007, available online at <http://www.washingtoninstitute.org/templateC06.php?CID=1098>
- "Countering the Theological Case for 'Economic Jihad' is Vital," *RUSI/Jane's Homeland Security and Resilience Monitor*, (July 1, 2005), available online at <http://www.washingtoninstitute.org/opedsPDFs/42a8bf8bbf6a6.pdf>
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- "Untangling the Terror Web: Identifying and Counteracting the Phenomenon of Crossover between Terrorist Groups," *SAIS Review*, vol. XXIV, no. 1 (Winter-Spring 2004), available online at <http://www.washingtoninstitute.org/templateC06.php?CID=786>
- "USA Ties Terrorist Attacks in Iraq to Extensive Zarqawi Network," *Jane's Intelligence Review, Terrorism and Insurgency*, April 1, 2004 (posted online March 16, 2004), available online at <http://www.washingtoninstitute.org/templateC06.php?CID=471>
- "Hizbullah's African Activities Remain Undisrupted," *RUSI/Jane's Homeland Security and Resilience Monitor*, March 1, 2004 (posted online February 4, 2004), available online at <http://www.washingtoninstitute.org/templateC06.php?CID=463>
- "Hamas from Cradle to Grave," *Middle East Quarterly*, vol. 11, no. 1 (January 2004), available online at <http://www.meforum.org/article/582>
- "Hezbollah's West Bank Terror Network," *Middle East Intelligence Bulletin (MEIB)*, vol. 5, no. 8 (August 2003), available online at http://www.meib.org/articles/0308_13.htm
- "Confronting Syrian Support for Terrorist Groups," *Middle East Intelligence Bulletin (MEIB)*, vol. 5, no. 5 (May 2003), available online at http://www.meib.org/articles/0305_s1.htm
- "Stemming the Flow of Terrorist Financing: Practical and Conceptual Challenges." *The Fletcher Forum of World*

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- “Eradicating Evil: Cracking Down on Terrorist Financing,” *Harvard International Review online*, vol. XXIV, Issue 3, (Fall 2002), available online at <http://www.hir.harvard.edu/articles/index.html?id=1080>
- “War on Terrorism Scorecard,” *Middle East Quarterly*, vol. 9, no. 3 (Summer 2002), available online at <http://www.meforum.org/article/494>
- “The Taliban, Islam, and Women's Rights in the Muslim World,” *The Fletcher Forum of World Affairs*, vol. 21, no. 1 (Winter/Spring 1998)
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- Academic Book Review of *Faith and Freedom: Women's Human Rights in the Muslim World*, Mahnaz Afkhami, Ed. (Syracuse University Press, 1995), *Journal of International Affairs*, vol. 50, no. 1 (Summer 1996)
- “Let Them Eat Figs: An Analysis of the Negotiation Process Leading to the Madrid Peace Conference,” The Program on Negotiation at Harvard Law School, *Working Paper Series*, no. 94-4 (February 1994)
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- “Hezbollah’s 1992 Attack in Argentina Is a Warning for Modern-Day Europe,” *The Atlantic*, March 19, 2013, available online at <http://www.washingtoninstitute.org/policy-analysis/view/hezbollahs-1992-attack-in-argentina-is-a-warning-for-modern-day-europe>
- “Why Europe Should Ban Hezbollah,” *Al-Sharq al-Awsat* (Arabic), March 18, 2013, available online (in English and Arabic) at <http://www.washingtoninstitute.org/policy-analysis/view/why-europe-should-ban-hezbollah>
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 - My articles posted at the Middle East Strategy at Harvard (MESH) blog can be accessed at <http://blogs.law.harvard.edu/mesh/category/members/matthew-levitt/>
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